



# KUKI ORGANIZATION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS TRUST (KOHUR)

A Member of UN Special Consultative Status Since 2016

(Registered under the Indian Registration Act, 1908, Reg. No. 963 (V) on May 8, 2009)

Head Office: Eureka Cafe Building, Hill Town, Churachandpur -795128



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kohur.org

To

Date: 21-06-2025

Shri Ajay Kumar Bhalla  
Governor of Manipur  
Raj Bhavan, Imphal, Manipur-795001

Subject: Rejoinder to Biren Singh's letter to the Hon'ble Governor-Clarification and Response to Key Assertions- Redg.

Respected Sir,

With due respect, we the Kuki Organisation for Human Rights Trust (KOHUR) would like to send a rejoinder responding to N. Biren Singh's (Ex-CM Manipur, MLA of 2-Heingang AC) Memorandum to you which were mischievously intended to mislead, distort history and paint a false image of the Kukis. That Biren Singh is the architect of the current Manipur pogrom against the Kuki-Zo is undeniable. Since his malicious memorandum as a former Chief Minister can sow seeds of further hatred against the Kuki-Zo people, KOHUR would like to respond paragraph by paragraph on the different distorted histories he has manufactured.

**Mr. N. Biren Singh:**

Memorandum to the Hon'ble Governor, Manipur (Dated/Imphal: 27th May, 2025)

Subject: Request to carry forward the concrete steps which were taken up by the BJP led State Govt., to detect, identify and deport illegal immigrants from Manipur; r / w the guidelines recently issued by Ministry of Home Affairs, thereby directing verification of illegal immigrants from Bangladesh and Myanmar within 30 days.

In this context we would like to draw your kind attention to the following lines regarding the State of Manipur for your necessary action.

*Response to (i):* Dating in *Cheitharol Kumbaba* before fifteenth century is controversial, it was based on oral traditions and largely imaginary. It should be reminded that one should use the dating in the chronicle with caution. Two points need to be kept in mind before such dating is considered.

First, *Cheitharol* has been properly and systematically maintained since 1485 CE with *cheithapa* system, from where we have accurate dating. The accounts up to the reign of king Kyamba (1467–1508 CE) were recorded to have been rewritten or reconstructed during the reign of king Chinthang Khomba (Bhagyachandra) in the mid-to late-18<sup>th</sup> century. This is recorded in



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*Cheitharol* itself which stated that the leaves related to those periods were “lost”.<sup>1</sup> Nepram Bihari, the translator of the chronicle into English, for instance stated that the earlier section of the chronicle was unreliable in many ways and that “many modifications and alterations have been made while rewriting *Cheitharol Kumbaba*”.<sup>2</sup>

Second, Saroj Nalini Parratt, another translator of the chronicle, also noted thus: “As one would expect in such circumstances the material in this section of the *Ch.K.* is extremely sketchy. The dating given for the reign of all of these kings *cannot be taken seriously* for historical purposes. Some are assigned excessively long reigns... Nor, furthermore, is it all clear that we are dealing only with one dynasty... We should probably conclude that this section of the *Ch.K.* provides a *convenient framework, a kind of historical construct*, into which the writers have fitted the names of remembered kings and the exploits attributed to them. Possibly *these are legendary figures, taken from the traditions of all the yeks* which eventually made up the Meetei confederacy”.<sup>3</sup>

Third, the age of the first ruler, Pakhangba, was not drawn from his time but pushed back from the time when the legends were written down. The critical folly in the chronology is that the age of a person was treated as the period of his reign and so on. For instance, there cannot be any scientific justification for Pakhangba, Taothingmang, Naophangba, Urakonhouba, Naothingkhong, Ayangba, and Irengba who ruled for 120 years, 100 years, 90 years, 90 years, 100 years, 89 years, and 90 years, respectively. While the life expectancy of people/person in ancient India was averaging around 35 to 40 years, which was quite the world average, the idea that seven rulers of ancient Manipur ruled for altogether 679 years or more than half a millennium fail the test of science and reason.

*Response to (ii) & (iii):* Manipur was already a sovereign state much before that, but its boundary was not yet defined until the 1830s. Its sovereignty extended only over the valley of Imphal is an established fact in history. Neither did the said commercial treaty of 1762 nor any other treaties after that state that Manipur sovereignty extended across the mountain ranges of present Manipur.

Major Micheal Symes in his “Account of an Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava in the year 1795” wrote that “In the spring of 1763 Swinton was placed in command of an expedition to Mackey

<sup>1</sup> Jyotirmoy Roy noted that “By orders of Jai Singh this book [*Cheitharol*] was rewritten as the former copy was no more available then”. See, J. Roy, *History of Manipur*, 1958, p. 8. Saroj Nalini Parratt also similarly noted that “the earlier section of the chronicle, that is the events before Kyampa’s accession, *was reconstructed at a later time*, during the reign of Chingthangkhopma... [who] commissioned a recompiling of the part of the *Ch.K.* ‘which had been lost’”. Parratt, *Cheitharon*, I, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Nepram Bihari, *The Cheitharol Kumbaba: The Royal Chronicle of Manipur*, Spectrum, Guwahati, 2012, p. 18. Parratt, another translator of the chronicle, hypothesizes that many of these monarchs were probably borrowed from the cultural pantheon and interspersed with religious myths to fit into their collective memory of intra-clan conquests and legitimize the current rule by the Meitei. Parratt, *Cheitharon*, I, p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Parratt, *Cheitharon*, I, pp. 4, 5.





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which he describes as "a hilly country, bounded on the north, south and west by large tracts of Cookie mountains and on the east by the Burampoota, beyond the hills to the north by Assam, to the west Cashai" So, Kuki Hills and the Kuki people of today's Manipur had surrounded the Meitei areas as far back as 1763.

*Response to (iv):* As rightly indicated, the rivers such as Tuivai, Imphal river (beyond Sugunu), Chakpi, and Tuipui, were not included in the territory of the State of Manipur. This makes it amply clear that the present-day Chandel and Churachandpur districts were not part of the territory of Manipur then.

*Response to (v) and (vi):* Census data of 1881 is not fully reliable for the hills. Three points need to be kept in mind. *First*, the census of 1881 was not enumerated in the hills as in the valley, it was merely an estimation. *Second*, the data represented by Mr. Biren is manipulated so as to mislead the government into what he had urged for implementation. The correct statistic is given below:

Group	Population in 1881	Population in 2011	130-year growth (1881-2011)
Ethnic Meetei/Meitei	1,17,103	1,35,3999	1156%
Naga Groups	59,904	6,98,402	1165%
New Kuki & Mizo Groups	25,384	4,48,214	1765%

Third, by 1881, as also noted above, the Kuki population of present Churachandpur, Pherzawl and Chandel districts was not included in the census enumeration/estimation. Hence, the use of Census 1881 for comparison with the 2011 census is deliberate and sinister. It is designed to manipulate census data for a particular purpose and should be taken into consideration. The present boundary of Manipur came into existence only in 1894/96 (For details, see the enclosed map of Manipur prior to this period). Hence, the rational data should be compared with the 1901 census, which was said to be "accurate". It is given in the table below. Indeed, population growth cannot be taken this way, by century; it is normally taken by decadal growth.

Group	Population in 1901	Population in 2011	130-year growth (1881-2011)
Ethnic Meetei/Meitei	1,64,146	13,53,999	824%
Naga Groups	69,641	6,98,402	1002%
New Kuki & Mizo Groups	47,042	4,48,214	952%



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The census report of 1901, for instance, noted that “Between 1881 and 1901, the population of Manipur increased by 63,395 or 28.6 per cent. This increase must be due either to natural growth or increased accuracy of enumeration, as there is practically no immigration to Manipur, the State born forming nearly 99 per cent of the total population” (p. 24). It was also because of the inclusion of the southern hills in the enumeration, which were left out in 1881.

*Response to (vii), (viii), (ix), & (x):* This so-called “refugee” is the usual official language/lexicon for people who crossed the border, but none of the official documents mentioned that they were “illegal refugees”, which Mr. Biren wants us to believe. The deployment of the term “illegal” is shrouded with mischievous intent being deployed by the Meitei supremacists during the conflict. Everyone in government and the public at large knew that these so-called “illegal refugees” from Myanmar were mostly, if not exclusively, Kukis, and they are not illegally entering Manipur. The said MP, a Kuki himself, wrote to the GoI for relief and rehabilitation of the Kukis who were expelled by the Burmese military operation called “Khadawmi Operation” of 1967 as they were citizens of India (Manipur) who had migrated to the Kabaw valley for safety against oppression from Naga nationalist movements in Ukhrul and Chandel districts of Manipur. Being Indian citizens, the GoI had kindly received them as Indians (not as “illegal refugees”), allowed them to settle in any Kuki village of their choice, and provided them relief and rehabilitation measures. As a responsible person, Mr. Biren should go through the official documents to understand the reality instead of barking over the hate narratives invented by a few Meitei supremacists.

*Response to (xi):* It is true that the political situation in neighbouring countries would always have a cascading effect in India and Manipur, particularly due to distressed refugees and the hampering of trade and commerce. However, it is an exaggerated idea that Manipur was always impacted acutely – “stretching public resources, disrupting the social fabric, and posing a direct threat to indigenous identity and territorial integrity”. Distressed refugees of the earlier times have been taken care of by the state on humanitarian grounds, and all of them have returned home once peace was restored in their homeland. A similar position was taken by the governments of Mizoram and Nagaland during the last coup in 2021. Since most of these distressed refugees consisted of Myanmar Kuki individuals, CM Biren refused to give them shelter in the state despite constant appeals from the Kuki community. Against all international laws, he hunted them down, criminalized them, put them in jail, and then forcibly repatriated them to the Myanmar Junta army only to commit their lives with their bloody hands. Worst, he also wanted to use the grim situation in Myanmar to fulfill his sinister design to annihilate or expel the whole population from Manipur. Such intentions and actions were already known to





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the world, and his letter to your highness doubled down on what he had intended and done when he was the CM.

*Response to (xii):* True, the SoO was signed under the Congress-led State Government and the Central Government in the years 2006-2008. However, it must be reminded that Mr. Biren was very much part of the Congress-led State Government who had inked the agreement. Therefore, he is very much well aware of the individuals or groups who is/are signatories of the SoO. Indeed Mr. Biren must be educated that SoO was not signed with an individual; it was a treaty signed with organisations, viz. KNO & UPF in which individuals matter little. He should also be told that the Kuki militants were not a declared “terrorist groups”. If he is so fascinated about “terrorist”, he should point the finger at himself as CM and be criticized for signing a peace pact with a declared foreign-based “terrorist group” of the Meiteis, the UNLF (Pambei) group, in November 2023.

*Response to (xiii):* Biren Singh reported that 2480 Illegal Immigrants were detected before the War. These 2480 so called illegal immigrants, who were actually refuge seekers from Junta bombings, were people from diverse Myanmarrese communities and only some of whom where Kuki-Zo people. So, to blame only Kuki-Zo people is absolutely incorrect. Moreover, blaming 2480 people who fled their beloved homes to suddenly become a grave security threat for India is just pure comedy. To put things in perspective, India had almost 1 lakh Illegal immigrants in United States of America in the last year alone.

Moreover, even when Mr. Biren tried to involve Kuki MLAs in finding Illegal Immigrants, he made a criminal approach to the refugee problems without a humane touch due to which the Kuki MLAs protested against it. Yet, even after this, not much progress had been made toward relieving the hardships of the distressed refugees, as the state government was busy with fighting the minority Kuki population in the state. Whatever was done by his government has nothing to do with the Kuki refugees; they were another project to appease the Tangkhul refugees from Myanmar.

Refugees from Myanmar had never been considered a “national security threat” in the past, just as they had never threatened the security of the state. All these so-called “threats” were built up by Mr. Biren and his cohorts so that they could carry out their ethnic cleansing project against the Kukis.

*Response to (xiv), (xv), & (xvi):* Nobody would be too naïve to believe in what Mr. Biren said in relation to the treatment he had done to the Myanmarrese refugees. His policy was biased and inhumane. While giving all necessary support to the Naga refugees from Myanmar, the Kuki refugees from Myanmar were imprisoned, deported and handed over to the Junta government—only to be killed in their hands.



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*Response to (xvii) & (xviii):* How could the Presidential Order, namely, the Manipur Legislative Assembly (Hill Areas Committee) Order, 1972, be “misused” and “misrepresented” when it was never implemented in the state governance? The Meitei-dominated Manipur government had never allowed the implementation of the Order despite the consistent appeal from the tribal people.

Abnormal growth of villages in Churachandpur and Kangpokpi districts is not due to “illegal immigrants” as Mr. Biren has insisted your honour to believe so. Four factors are at the root of this growth.

First, in the 1990s, due to the ethnic clash between Kukis and Nagas and because of the “quit notice” served to them by the Naga insurgents, most of the Kuki population in Naga-dominated districts, particularly in Ukhrul and Tamenglong, migrated to Kuki-dominated districts like Churachandpur, Chandel and Kangpokpi (then part of Senapati district). While many of them settled among the existing Kuki villages there, some of them choose to set up new villages for their families/villages.

Second, since the introduction of MGNREGA or Job Card in 2005, many villages sprouted out in the state, some of them being merely on paper, known as “ghost villages”, created by the nexus between a few tribal individuals and corrupted state officers (mostly Meiteis). Mr. Biren and his cohorts know that hundreds of new villages in Churachandpur, Chandel, Kangpokpi, etc., were “ghost villages” which his government had later disbanded them. The fact that job cards were issued to each family had even inflated the households of every village.

Third, due to the rapid urbanization which is a national and state phenomenon across the landscape, large numbers of the Kuki population in the rural villages have migrated to towns and urban centres for modern amenities and children education which the state government could not provided in the hill villages. As conscious individual, many of them choose to live in traditionally established villages around the suburbs of the towns (old and newly founded villages). For instance, the population of Churachandpur town increased from 134,494 in 1981 to 274,143 in 2011.

Fourth, the spiraling of Kuki villages in the two districts was also sociological in nature. It is known to everyone that the Kukis were prone to splitting and breaking up their villages as fast as the numbers of male children were beget. Each of the chief son would wish to establish a new village and become its chief. Besides, any Kuki individual who could afford to buy land and establish a new village would be ever tempted to do so as a matter of social status, as they would not want to live under the autocratic rule of the chief.





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The combination of these four factors contributed to the mushrooming of villages among the Kukis. They are not related to an increase in population nor with immigration. In many cases, the majority of the new villages were non-existent as ghost villages or had very few houses.

*Response to (xix), (xx), & (xxi):* This is again evasive of what he, as the CM, could not do anything about regarding poppy plantation. Truly, no individual or group from Myanmar and Bangladesh came to Manipur for poppy plantation. While the laboring was done by the poor Kuki labourers, the plantation was funded and sponsored by the valley-based Meiteis who held the capital and received the lion's share from the proceeds. In fact, poppy plantation was not done only by the Kukis, Nagas and Meiteis were also involved in it. It is a known fact that, when Meiteis groups stopped receiving enough funding from China post Deng Zhiopeng's coming to power in the 1970s, they brought poppy seeds to Northeast India to fund their secessionist movement. The fact that a large number of the Kuki population were involved in the plantation in the last few years is due to the dire economic situation they have undergone through as internally displaced populations post-Kuki-Naga conflict. When the government did not come forward to relieve them from the hardship, they went through displacement, poppy plantation proved to be attractive to most of them despite the fact that the Kuki CSOs and Churches were campaigning against the plantation. Poppy plantation is therefore the symptom of poverty and deprivation rather than otherwise.

We want to ask who these drug cartels were that the BJP-led govt. under CM Biren had "crackdown" on. Who these armed militants and narco-terrorists operating in the state were, and who had caused the initiation of violence and so on. Mr. Biren must be told that the real armed militants and narco-terrorists in the state of Manipur and the region are the Meitei armed militants, declared as "terrorists" by the GoI, who controlled the drug trade from the golden triangle to different parts of India and the world through the "drug cartels" man and operated by the Meitei individuals. The "crackdown" was basically not to these Meitei drug cartel and terrorists but their competitors, who were mainly small businessmen ferrying small amount of the drugs for little profit. Remember the case against him by a former police officer, Brinda Thounaojam, which is a classic case that informs how Mr. Biren was protecting his empire of drugs rather than a "crackdown". To the Kuki individuals, he was a menace rather than cracking down on drug.

*Response to (xxii):* While Biren keeps mentioning Myanmar nationals who have fled their country to enter India, he turns a blind eye to the hundreds of Meitei Secessionist who had entered from Myanmar to fight against the Kukis and also fleeing from the People's Defence Forces of Myanmar. What news of them and what action has been taken against them?



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Secondly, with regard to the eleven Myanmar nationals who entered Churachandpur, Security Forces have already clarified that they were allowed to enter India on humanitarian ground as they were injured and sick people needing medical attention. Biren's attempt to portray them as people who have come to India to create disturbance is like his "Breaking" news of 900 Kukis who came from Myanmar to fight in India. It all turned out to be a hoax. Let it be known to all that Kukis of Manipur have enough people to defend our land against Meitei aggression.

Lastly, the 10 people who were killed in the Indo-Myanmar border by Indian Force, in a great embarrassment for India, turned out to be Myanmar based PDFs. Much correspondence has allegedly already happened between India and Myanmar on this regard as the National Unity Government (NUG) of Myanmar were greatly displeased with the incident. To still try to link them with Kukis shows Biren's addiction to lie, and therefore, people with such psychopathic dark personality traits, should not even be allowed to continue to hold public office as he has become a danger to a civilised human society.

Dear Sir, we express our sincere thanks and appreciation for patiently listening to the facts and historical truth that we have presented as a rebuttal to the venomous lies of Ex Chief Minister N. Biren Singh. There is a popular saying that, "Truth has a Certain ring to it" and we trust the Hon'ble Sir to be a good moral judge of it.

Thank you, Sir,

Sincerely,

(H.S BENJAMIN MATE)

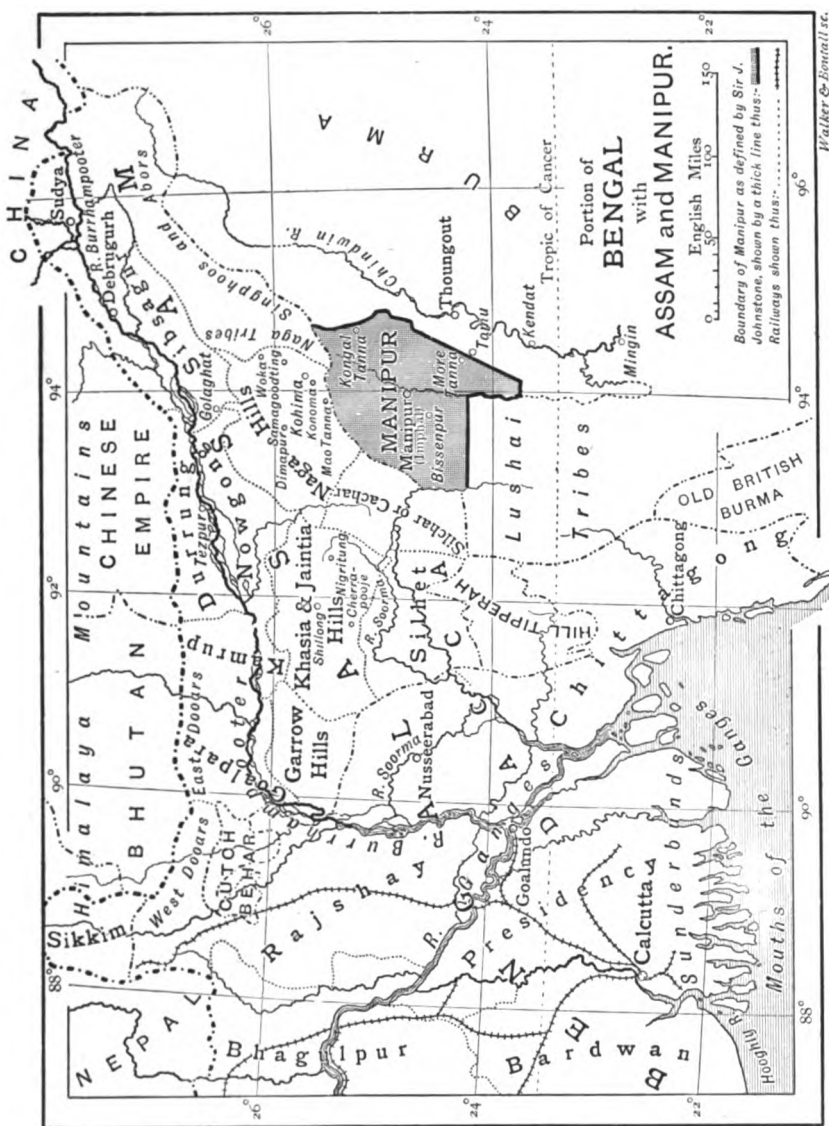
Chairman,

Kuki Organization For Human Rights Trust

Enclosed below:

1. Census of India 1901 (Volume IV- Assam)





THE NAGA HILLS AND MANIPUR.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.  
*Population by language.*

Language.

Language.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Proportion per 10,000 of population.
1	2	3	4	5
Nagpuri ... ..	5,811	2,898	2,913	9
Marwari ... ..	7,202	5,609	1,593	12
Hindustani ... ..	17,873	13,158	4,715	29
Eastern Hindi ... ..	334,100	188,082	146,018	545
Assamese ... ..	1,349,784	685,098	664,686	2,203
Bengali ... ..	2,948,183	1,512,642	1,435,541	4,812
Oriya ... ..	23,761	12,328	11,433	38
Kandhi or Khond ... ..	11,827	5,832	5,995	19
Oraon ... ..	10,791	5,724	5,067	17
Telugu ... ..	5,259	2,812	2,447	8
Mundari ... ..	37,411	19,282	18,129	61
Santali ... ..	30,129	16,055	14,074	49
Naipali ... ..	20,193	14,258	5,935	32
Miri ... ..	40,472	21,515	18,957	66
Bodo, or Plains Kachari ... ..	218,049	108,595	109,454	356
Dimasa, or Hills Kachari ... ..	19,776	10,343	9,433	32
Garó ... ..	133,411	67,355	66,056	217
Lalung ... ..	16,414	7,864	8,550	26
Rabha ... ..	20,243	9,272	10,971	33
Tipura ... ..	10,403	5,235	5,168	17
Naga ... ..	69,641	35,041	34,600	113
Mikir ... ..	82,283	42,512	39,771	134
Kuki ... ..	47,042	22,754	24,288	76
Manipuri ... ..	255,765	126,509	129,256	417
Khasi ... ..	123,549	58,719	64,830	201
Synteng ... ..	54,253	24,982	29,271	88
English ... ..	2,234	1,635	599	3
Angami ... ..	27,865	13,980	13,885	45
Ao Chungli ... ..	17,623	8,376	9,247	28
Ao Mongsen ... ..	10,512	5,018	5,494	17
Kachcha Naga ... ..	6,296	3,255	3,041	10
Lhota ... ..	16,962	8,933	8,029	27
Lushai or Dulien ... ..	72,011	32,030	39,981	117



Diagram showing the proportion borne by the main tribes to the total population of the Hill districts and Manipur.

(In the North Cachar Hills the railway population has been excluded.)

